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on the Catholic question, debated in the House of Commons, 24th May, 1813; with additional observations; by George Ensor, Esq., 3s. 4d.—*London printed.*

SERMONS.

A Vindication of Unitarians, and Unitarianism; two sermons preached at Norwich, on occasion of the establishment of the Eastern Unitarian book society; by Robert Aspland, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Hackney.

Sermon preached at Leeds on the death of the Rev. J. Simpson; by the Rev. T. Jervis, 2s.

THEOLOGY.

A Plea for Unitarian Dissenters, in a letter of expostulation to the Rev. H. Norris, M.A., on that part of his late work against Hackney Auxiliary Bible Society, which relates to Unitarians; by Robert Aspland, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Hackney, 4s. 6d.

The necessity of Revelation to teach the doctrine of a future state; by John Kenrick, M.A. 1s.

Lectures upon the History of the Old Testament; by the Rev. Thomas Smith, 10s. 6d.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

SPEECH OF THE REV. WM. SHEPHERD.

At a period when the enemies of liberty exult, and affect to consider that the real consistent friends of freedom are discomfited on account of the reverse of Bonaparte's fortune, the following speech of the Rev. William Shepherd, a dissenting clergyman of Gatacre, near Liverpool, and Curator of the Liverpool Botanical Garden, at a dinner of the Concentric Society in that town, may be given as an answer to the silly boastings so common on this as well as on the other side of the channel. Another motive for giving publicity to such patriotic effusions may be assigned, that such articles on the side of liberty and liberty seldom find their way into our provincial papers. There is an evident leaning against liberty, more or less direct, in our Northern press, by some openly avowed, and by others more covertly, but not with less reality. Does the fault lie in the caterers for the public, or in the initiated taste of the people themselves?

CONCENTRIC SOCIETY.

On the health of the Rev. William Shepherd being given, that Gentleman addressed the company as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

I rise to assure you that I entertain a most grateful sense of the honour which you have just now done me. It should seem, however, gentlemen, that there are individuals who are of opinion that by conferring on me this distinction, you have by no means established a claim on my

gratitude; but that, on the contrary, you have thereby raised me to a "painful pre-eminence," in return for which you are entitled to any thing on my part, rather than to thanks. For the individuals in question, taking it for granted that the consequence of what has just occurred, namely, your drinking my health, must necessarily be a speech, have lately expressed themselves as kindly solicitous on the behalf of those whom they are pleased to denominate the orators of our party, lest the sources of their eloquence should be absolutely dried up; and in the friendliness of their anxiety, they have marvelled most exceedingly what in the present conjuncture we can possibly find to say.

Gentlemen, with many thanks to these individuals for their kind concern, I have the happiness to assure you that I never in my life attended a meeting at which it might be expected that I should be called upon to speak my sentiments upon public affairs—that I never in my life attended a meeting of this description, with my mind more at ease than it is at present, with respect to the number, the variety, and the importance of the topics upon which, to the best of my humble abilities, I should have to dilate. And gentlemen, I will say farther, that I never in my life attended a public meeting with a more full and perfect conviction of the excellence of the principles which we have so long maintained, and of the goodness of the cause in which we have been so long conjointly embarked, than that which animates me at the present moment. Upon every consideration I meet you to-day, gentlemen, with sentiments of

the highest satisfaction. For it is surely more gratifying to meet at the convivial board in the hour of national glory, than in the hour of national humiliation; in the day of victory, than in the day of defeat; at the season when commerce lifts her head with honest pride, than at the season when, languishing and drooping, she blushes to find herself supported by perjury and forgery. But above all, gentlemen, it is far more gratifying to celebrate the high and heroic achievements wrought by our countrymen in the best of all causes, the cause of general freedom, than those equivocal successes which tend only to foster the crooked policy of courts.

And gentlemen, I am sure I shall strike a chord to which there will be a responsive vibration in the heart of every man that hears me, when I declare that it is in strict consonance with the feelings impressed upon my mind at the earliest dawn of reason within my breast, that it is in strict consonance with those principles which I have adopted as the result of honest and industrious study, that I fully participate in the general exultation occasioned by the downfall of a hard and unrelenting despot. And gentlemen, I call to witness many of you whom I have the pleasure to meet on this occasion; especially do I call to witness our worthy chairman, who is one of the most observant of men, that this language, as applied to the Emperor of France, is not new on my part; that it is not adopted to suit the exigencies of the moment. Such temporizing conduct is the object of my scorn. But, gentlemen, many of you well remember that I have thus publicly qualified Bonaparte at the time when his star was rising to its ascendant. Thus I qualified him at the period when that star glared with malignant aspect upon almost the whole of the civilized world; and thus should I have continued to qualify him, had his power so long been continued in the abuse of it, to the latest moment of my mortal existence.

And yet, Gentlemen, there was a period when we were of opinion that with this man this country might be at peace. Have late events tended to make us ashamed of having entertained that opinion? By no means. That opinion was not founded on any esteem or reverence in which we held the character of Bonaparte. Nor was it founded on any overweening notion of his peculiar delicacy in the observance of treaties. God help those whose sole dependence for safety is fixed upon treaties signed

by Emperors and Kings! No, Gentlemen, the opinion in question was founded on the sense we entertained of the power of our country; which we thought amply sufficient to bind Bonaparte down to the observance of any stipulations which might have been agreed upon between our government and him. Gentlemen, have late events tended to falsify this notion? No. On the contrary, they tend most completely to confirm it.

It must, however, in candour be acknowledged that on the question of peace with Bonaparte at any antecedent period, there was room for fair and honest difference of opinion. And I esteem it as the subject of the greatest exultation, that by late events the wings of this imperial vulture have been so plucked, so maimed, and so wounded, that should it please the people of France to continue him as their ruler, (and I most cordially agree in the sentiment lately uttered by Mr. Gladstone, that this is *their* affair, not *ours*.) I say should it please the people of France to continue Bonaparte as their ruler, I trust there is no Briton so suspicious, so desponding, or so cowardly as not to be persuaded that we may now venture to maintain with him the relations of peace. In Mr. Pitt's time the phrase, by way of rounding a period, was "peace and amity." I take it for granted that after the castigation which we have bestowed upon the Emperor of France, amity is, on his part, out of the question. But no matter for that, gentlemen. We will say of him as the Roman tyrant said of his people; "*oderit dum metuat.*" Let him hate us as much as he pleases; provided he fears us, we will submit with the best possible grace to the infliction of his displeasure.

And yet, gentlemen, we have been lately called upon, if we would approve ourselves the friends of our country, not only to acknowledge ourselves in error on this particular point, but in the most peremptory and sweeping terms we have been called upon to change the whole system of our principles. Gentlemen, to this we reply that we are not of the number of those whose principles, *like a Scotch plaid*, sit so loosely upon them that they can be changed to suit *the exigencies of the moment*. Change our principles, gentlemen! Of all the extraordinary and extravagant demands that ever were made upon human patience, this is certainly the most extravagant and the most extraordinary. Change our principles! why, gentlemen, the great and

brilliant events in which we have all so much occasion to rejoice, have been produced by the direct operation of those very principles, which we have maintained in defiance of odium and calumny, and which we are now so peremptorily called upon to forego.

In proof of this, Gentlemen, with your permission, I will proceed to give an outline of our principles, and to point out wherein they differ from those of our opponents. And in the general this comparison may be stated in a few words. What, Gentlemen, is our political watchword? *The People*. What is the political watchword of our opponents? *Government*. What is the tenour of our language? Respect the rights of the people. Consult their feelings. Listen to their statements. Give them their due share in the national representation. What is the language of our opponents? Keep the people down. The people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. Whether with regard to the minor concerns of our own town, or to the most important affairs of the kingdom at large, there is nothing which our opponents more habitually deprecate than an appeal to the people: and when we talk of popular rights, they call us enthusiasts, visionaries, and philosophers. In short, (and it is a striking coincidence,) their language as applied to us, is the very counterpart of that of the ruler of France, who, when after after having sacrificed to his wild ambition, two hundred thousand of his subjects, he had hastened from the extremity of Europe, a fugitive and a vagabond, coolly ascended his imperial throne, and with more than imperial effrontery, told his obsequious senate, that the miseries of the world were occasioned by the mischievous influence of English metaphysics.

Gentlemen, we are of the number of those who looked up with fond affection to the illustrious Charles James Fox, whilst he was living, and who revere his memory now that he is dead. What was the language of this champion of popular rights in the year 1793? He then admonished his Majesty's ministers in the following terms: "You are embarking in a war of governments against the people, and independently of the sympathies of the people. In such a war you will be foiled and defeated." And did not the event justify his predictions? What is the language of Lord Liverpool at the present day? At the opening of Parliament he made use of these memorable terms. "This is no long-

er a war of government against government; it is a war of the people against injustice, tyranny, and invasion." Gentlemen, I congratulate you on the accession to our cause of so noble a convert. And I must take the liberty of observing, that whilst this noble convert condescends to borrow our vocabulary, and to adopt our phraseology, it is rather too great a stretch of modesty on the part of our opponents in Liverpool, to call upon us to change our principles.

With these principles in our recollection, Gentlemen, let us take a rapid review of the astonishing transactions which have of late years taken place in Europe. It is matter of history, that once and again the Emperor of Germany lay prostate at the feet of Bonaparte, and submitted to receive his crown from him on the most humiliating conditions. It is matter of history that the King of Prussia stood shivering on the banks of the Vistula, to witness that memorable conference on the raft, which was to determine whether or not he was to be continued in the catalogue of crowned heads. Nay, notwithstanding the intrinsic solidity of his power, the Emperor of Russia himself was reduced to the necessity of making peace with Napoleon on the most disgraceful conditions. And what was the cause of these disastrous events? Why these monarchs, for reasons best known to themselves, did not venture to appeal to their people. They relied on their armies, and on their armies alone, and in consequence of this fatal error, they were vanquished and discomfited, and brought to the very verge of ruin.

But when Bonaparte, stimulated by his wild ambition, had penetrated into the heart of Russia, the Emperor Alexander, trembling for the safety of both his capitals, was induced to throw himself upon his people. In proclamation after proclamation, he summoned them to the defence of his throne, and of their own dearest interests. They were not deaf to the summons. They rushed to the field in myriads, and materially aided, no doubt, by the elements, they effected a havoc and devastation of the foe, to which there is no parallel in the records of history, either ancient or modern.

And when, in the last campaign, Bonaparte, after making an exertion, of which it was generally imagined he was little capable, had rushed at the head of a new army into the centre of Germany, the King of Prussia and the other German potentates, taking example from the Emperor Alex-

ander, appealed to the people; then first we heard of the Landstrum and the Landweir; the general array of the country. And what was the consequence of the unanimous effort of the people, which followed upon this call? Bonaparte was signally defeated, and driven with a miserable remnant of his forces within the confines of his own territories. These, gentlemen, are the achievements of the people. Such effectual aid do sovereigns receive when they frankly rely on the good-will of their subjects.

Gentlemen, may I here presume to trespass on your patience, whilst I relate an anecdote somewhat connected with our good town of Liverpool. Whether it be relevant to our present subject or not, I submit to your judgment. In the year 1794, a Liverpool slave-ship, as she was sailing in the West Indian seas, was attacked by a French privateer. As the privateer bore down, the captain of the slave-ship, being well aware that his vessel was but weakly manned, and recollecting that he had in the hold a number of Cormantyn or Cormantee negroes, (I know not the right pronunciation, as I am little versed in the classics of the coast of Africa,) brought a score of these negroes, who are distinguished by their bravery, upon deck, and pointing to the enemy, told them, that if they were taken, they would to a man be killed and eaten. When he had impressed the poor fellows with the fear of being devoured, he put arms into their hands, which they used most gallantly; and it was mainly by their assistance that the Frenchman was beaten off. Now, when the action was over, Gentlemen, what do you think this captain did? Why, he coolly took the arms from the thoughtless Africans, replaced the shackles on their legs, and again shut them under hatches.

Gentlemen, may we be permitted to express our hope, that such will not be the conduct of the potentates of Germany and Russia? May we be permitted to express our hope, that in gratitude for the services which their subjects have rendered them, they will study to meliorate their condition, that they will respect their rights, and that they will at length be convinced, that the liberty of the people is strictly compatible with the safety and dignity of monarchs?

But the value of our principles is most strikingly demonstrated by the events which have lately taken place in Spain. Spain, Gentlemen, once enjoyed the ad-

vantage of a representative system. She had her provincial assemblies, she had her Cortes, the function of which was to check the power of the Monarch. While she possessed a free constitution, she occupied the highest rank amongst the nations of Europe. Her nobles were proverbially gallant and generous, and her soldiers were esteemed the best in the world. But of this free constitution she was by force and fraud deprived. The consequence of this was, that she gradually dwindled into insignificance: till at length, in our own times, the crown, invested with unlimited power, descended upon the head of a drivelling ideot, who heard his queen in the face of the world proclaim herself a strumpet, and her son a bastard; and finished the disgusting scene, by transferring his subjects, like so many head of cattle, into the hands of Bonaparte. This, Gentlemen, was the proceeding of a government; aye, and of a government as regular, as grave, and as serious, as any in Europe. But what was the conduct of the people? Why, they refused to ratify the bargain. They rushed round the standard of their country. In the first burst of their indignation, they captured a whole French army; and they have continued the war with various fortune, till, headed by the illustrious Wellington, a name which far transcends any praise that I can bestow upon it, they have expelled the invaders from their country, they have followed them across the Pyrenees, they are now encamped in France, where they are only restrained by the hand of strict and prudent discipline from inflicting upon their foes a severe retaliation for the injuries which they have sustained from them.

Gentlemen, should the French nation be pleased to continue Bonaparte upon the throne of France, he will no doubt be content to reinstate the unfortunate Ferdinand in his royal dignity, in hopes that he may be enabled to preserve by intrigue the predominance in Spain, which he so foolishly endeavoured to consolidate by force. In these views, however, he will be disappointed. The people are roused. The Cortes is established, and will no doubt be ever alert in frustrating his insidious designs.

To pass on, Gentlemen, to another topic. For no one of our principles have we been more vilified than this, that a nation is competent, whenever the necessity of the case requires it, of which necessity it is the sole judge, to modify or to change

its government, and to cashier its governors. For preounding this abstract proposition, the late amiable Dr. Price was not obscurely threatened by the sanguinary Burke, with the fate of Hugh Peters, who, as you well remember, soon after the restoration of Charles II. was drawn, hanged, and quartered; and I believe literally suffered the sentence of the law, in having his palpitating entrails torn from his body whilst he was yet alive. But keeping the principle I have just mentioned in view, let us consider what has of late years taken place in Sweden. Sweden, Gentlemen, like Spain, once had her legislative assembly, which operated as a balance to the power of the crown. But of this assembly she was deprived by the intrigues and by the open violence of Gustavus III. During the life time of that monarch, who was a man of some ability, the affairs of the kingdom were tolerably well conducted. But at his death, the sceptre devolved to the hands of a rash and infuriate madman, who lavishly dissipated the blood and the treasure of his subjects, in wild and extravagant projects. His folly being at length become intolerable, his subjects rose against him, and expelled him from the country. In his place they substituted his uncle: but the succession to the crown, and in fact the present chief power of the state, they vested—not in one of the ancient dynasty—not in one of their noblesse—not even in one of their countrymen—but in a foreigner, a Frenchman, one of Bonaparte's generals. And what do our opponents, what do his Majesty's ministers think of this practical illustration of our principles? Let us judge of their sentiments by their deeds. They have entered into an alliance with Sweden—they have subsidized that power; by their influence the Crown Prince has been raised to the chief command of the armies of the grand confederacy, in which capacity he has covered himself with glory, by discomfiting and defeating his ancient master. He is the object of the panegyrics of our Prince Regent, who thus virtually declares himself a friend to our principles; and while they receive such august countenance, we shall not listen with much complaisance to any requisition calling upon us to change them.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that at the instant of the election of the Crown Prince to his present elevated station in the Swedish government, our ministry, surprised probably by the novelty

of the transaction, vilified him and the Swedes in very strong terms; and they permitted their hireling journalists to rail at the "old serjeant" in language not fit to be repeated in any decent society. But, they have seen their error. They are become converts to our principles, and I am sure we are always ready to receive with kindness the repentant sinner.

I can, however, conceive a case, in which this sudden transition from railing to applause, may be productive of inconvenience. I remember to have read an account given by a traveller of a grand review of the troops of old Frederic of Prussia. When the line was formed, a tap of the drum was heard. Instantly, every cap was lifted, and every eye was fixed upon the ground. This was the outward sign of a mental prayer, in which every private and subaltern was supposed to be engaged. After a short interval, another tap of the drum was heard. In an instant, every cap was replaced, and every soldier stood alert and erect. At least so it appeared to the uninstructed eye of the traveller. But he saw a field-officer spring like a tiger upon an unfortunate individual, and apply to his shoulders an unmerciful discipline with a cane. On inquiring what offence this man had committed, the traveller was told, that he had prayed nearly half a second too long. Gentlemen, it may so happen, that should any unfortunate ministerialist, in certain cases, continue his cursing half a day too long, he may be doomed to expiate his inadvertency, not by so light a punishment as a few blows with a cane, but by two years imprisonment in the house of correction in Cold-Bath Fields.

Gentlemen, another principle for the maintenance of which we have been subject to much abuse, is this—that one state has no right to interfere in the internal concerns of another. On this topic, it will be sufficient to observe, that the justice of this principle is now so generally acknowledged, that it has lately been unanimously admitted by the Backbone Club of Liverpool.

Gentlemen, we have lately heard much of the principles of Mr. Pitt. Permit me to call to your recollection his practices. When in the year 1794, France was beleaguered on every side, when the iron barrier of her northern frontier was penetrated, and her power seemed to be annihilated, the wise and benevolent Mr. Fox urged the expediency of making proposals

of peace. Mr. Pitt replied, in scorn and indignation, "What! stop in the career of victory! I never pledged myself not to interfere in the internal concerns of France. We will not lay down our arms till we have received indemnity for the past, and security for the future." On this occasion Mr. Fox divided, with a trifling minority, and Mr. Pitt was hailed with general applause. It is a melancholy consideration, that after nearly twenty years of war, and the loss of millions, not of money, but of lives; the mighty wheel, to which is attached the destiny of nations, has made a complete revolution, and we are at this moment almost precisely in the situation in which we were in the year 1794. I trust, however, that our country will profit by the dear bought lessons of experience; and that if the enemy show a disposition to yield to reasonable terms, the people will support the present ministers in those moderate views which, in strong contrast to their former language, they have lately professed; and upon which, if they honestly act, they will deserve and will obtain the blessings of generations yet unborn.

Gentlemen, I trust that I have clearly demonstrated that the demand, which has been lately made upon us by our opponents, to change our principles, is a most extravagant one.

That they should have made this demand, I can only account for upon the idea, that in the perplexity of their brains, they confound the correctness of a principle, with the result of speculations on the question of the continuance of Bonaparte's power. On the latter point, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that no one is more astonished at late events, than our opponents themselves, and his Majesty's ministers, who have avowed their surprise in open senate. And, Gentlemen, if there be any man among us, who has formerly predicted, that the power of Bonaparte would not be speedily restrained, I trust that he is not such a Jonas, as to sit down in sullen discontent, because his prophecies of evil have not been fulfilled. None of us, Gentlemen, have half as much to retract as Mr. Canning, who must now be convinced, that my Lord Castlereagh is competent to discharge the duties of the office which he holds, and who will henceforth be eased of the trouble of carrying that noble Lord's dismissal, for months, in his pocket. As to Bonaparte, there is nothing in common between him and us.

We have the most cogent reason to dislike him. We have reason to dislike him as the enemy of our country, and as the enemy to the very name of freedom. And after sincerely thanking you for the patience and kindness with which you have been pleased to listen to me, I propose that we do most summarily mark our feelings with regard to the conduct of the Ruler of France, by drinking, with three times three cheers, "THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY ALL OVER THE WORLD."

The following Letter was published in the Belfast News Letter of 10th inst., in relation to the Orange Certificate, mentioned in our last number. We have accompanied it with notes.

LOYAL ORANGE ASSOCIATION.

We the undersigned have seen with no less astonishment than indignation, an article in the last *Belfast Magazine*, purporting to be an "exact copy" of a certificate from the Poleglass Orange Lodge, No. 170, to Thomas Walker, subscribed with our names, and concluding with the following words—"And that said Thomas Walker was in June, 1809, duly served with notice to take the EXTIRPATORY OATH; which he, the said Thomas Walker, in presence of us, refused to take, although duly admonished thereunto. These are therefore to caution all Loyal Associations not to recognize him as a brother, under the present system." On any other occasion we should have passed over in silence and contempt any thing issuing from the polluted sources of this malignant and self-confuted publication;* but at the present time, when ev-

* Railing is not reasoning. It is easier to call abusive names, than to evade the force of a candid statement. It was never asserted in the *Belfast Magazine*, that the word "Extirpatory," formed a part of the oath. On the contrary, doubts were candidly and unequivocally expressed, as to that word being a part of the certificate. Explanation was called for, but that explanation is not given. Notwithstanding the length of the letter, the writer appears inclined to envelop himself in a mist, and by the free use of abusive expressions, to lead his readers away from examining the point really at issue. The account of this certificate was communicated to Sir Edward Littlehales, and a statement respecting it, supposed to be too strong, and not warranted by fact, was published in *Plowden's His-*